

# A D D R E S S

OF THE

DEMOCRATIC WHIG ASSOCIATION

OF THE

CITY AND COUNTY OF PHILADELPHIA,

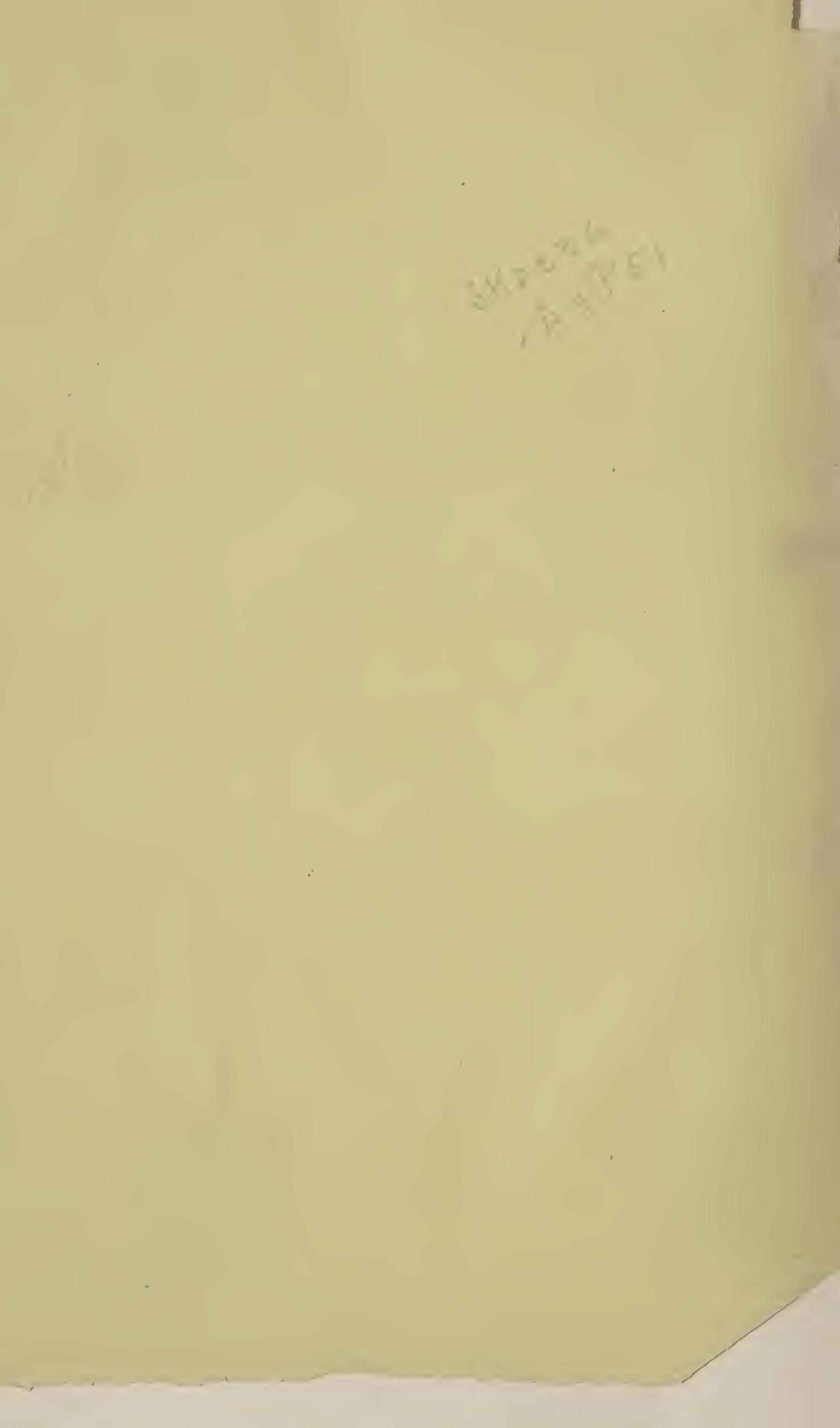
TO THE

PEOPLE OF PENNSYLVANIA.

APRIL, 1839.

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1839.



# A D D R E S S

## TO THE PEOPLE OF PENNSYLVANIA.

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FELLOW CITIZENS :

A portion of the Whigs of the city and county of Philadelphia, having formed themselves into an association under the name of "The Democratic Whig Association of the city and county of Philadelphia," deem it a duty they owe to themselves and to you, to address you on the present state of the political affairs of the country, and to make some suggestions in regard to our future course.

The objects proposed by the formation of the association are declared in the constitution to be, "to promote the union, harmony, and success of the Whig party, as based upon the principles which have heretofore distinguished that party ; to preserve its integrity, and to aid the election of such individuals as shall be nominated by a Whig National Convention, fairly constituted, as candidates for President and Vice President."

Of the distinguished men who have been presented to us as candidates for President, we unhesitatingly declare our preference for Henry Clay.

We consider the present as an important period in our public affairs, and upon the course taken by those opposed to the administration much that concerns the future character and prosperity of the country will depend. With union and concert among ourselves, much good may be accomplished ; but without these we can do nothing. A brief glance at the past will show the position we occupy, the evils against which we have had to contend, and the dangers that still threaten our country.

A

It must be known to every one who takes an interest in political affairs, that Mr. Adams was opposed and defeated, and General Jackson supported and elected, chiefly on the following grounds :

1st. That the former had given latitudinarian constructions to the constitution, and had exercised a more enlarged power than the framers of that instrument had intended to clothe the executive with.

2d. That the expenses of the government were profuse and extravagant.

3d. That those employed in the public offices at Washington, and in the various Custom Houses, were unnecessarily numerous, and mere drones, who eat up the substance of the people.

4th. That the President ought not to hold his office for more than one term.

5th. That members of Congress should not be appointed to office by the Executive during the term for which they were elected, and for two years thereafter.

6th. That the latter would, if elected, destroy the monster, party, and unite all parties in the bonds of unity. That he would be the President of the *nation*, and not the mere head of a *party*.\*

It will also be recollected that General Jackson in his inaugural address, directly charged his predecessor with “those abuses which had brought the patronage of the Federal Government into conflict with the freedom of elections ;” and the reformation of these alledged abuses, he declared to be “inscribed upon the list of executive duties, in characters too legible to be overlooked.”

“*Retrenchment and Reform*” were emblazoned upon the banner of the opposition. The people were assured and believed, that General Jackson, if elected, would reduce the public expenses, and introduce a system of rigid accountability into the government ; “that his administra-

\* See Appendix A.

tion would be regulated by the noblest maxims of political philosophy ; that his position would be independent ; his deportment dignified ; his measures open, vigorous, and patriotic ; that the patronage in his hands would be regarded as a deposit for the common benefit, not as an instrument for his own re-election, or to secure the ascendancy of any faction or party ; that his knowledge of men would enable him to select the wisest counsellors, and his practical sagacity to decide with promptitude between conflicting opinions ; and above all, that being solemnly impressed with the influences which the re-election of a President had already exerted upon the interests of the people, and upon the independence of the Legislature, he would set an example of disinterested patriotism, worthy of all praise and calling for universal imitation, by retiring to private life at the end of his first term."

His election therefore, was looked to by many, as a remedy for all the imaginary evils that beset the country, and his administration, it was believed, would be a glorious era in her annals. Such was the state of feeling among the American people, which waisted the military chieftain into office upon the mountain-wave of popularity. No man, Washington excepted, ever enjoyed so large a share of the confidence and devotion of his fellow citizens ; and no man ever had a more favorable opportunity of rendering lasting services to his country and securing the admiration of posterity. How the bright anticipations of the people were realized, history will record.\*

Scarcely had the result of the election been made known, when it was announced in the acknowledged organ of the President elect, that he would adopt the policy of *rewarding his friends and punishing his enemies* ! and as this declaration was made under the eye of Gen. Jackson, and the sentiment was not disavowed by him,

\* See Appendix B.

there could be no doubt that it was published "by authority." Contrary to the sentiments expressed in his celebrated letter to Mr. Monroe, and applauded by the whole nation, advising him to "destroy the monster party," by selecting the best men for office without reference to their political creeds, it was now apparent that the President had determined to confer office upon none but his own partisans, and that the claims of every man to favor, were to be graduated by the ardor with which he had supported his election.

The extraordinary spectacle was presented for the first time to the American people, of a universal proscription for opinion's sake.\* "Talents, knowledge, experience in public business, were no longer recommendations to office. Personal devotion alone, to the President, activity in promoting the schemes of his favorites, and a readiness to adopt his views and opinions on all subjects without scruple or hesitancy, were the qualities that secured his confidence," and were rewarded with posts of honor and profit. That we are justified in using this language, will appear by the following extract from a leading Journal,† not less distinguished for its zealous support of General Jackson and his administration, than for its bitter hostility to the Whig party and Conservative principles. "Another system of measures," says this paper, in a momentary fit of honest indignation, "pursued by the Administration, which has tended greatly to discredit it in the popular mind, is the appointments to office—*the systematized adoption of partizanship as a basis of promotion*. It is not to be disguised that this originated with General Jackson. It was unquestionably the greatest fault in his character, that *he was too liable to be biased by his personal attachments*. A trait that would be admirable in private life became dangerous in a public station.

"He made it a rule to provide for his *friends*, and it was

\* See Appendix C.

† The N. Y. Ev. Post.

impossible for a man in his situation to discriminate as to the motives of that friendship. The result was, that the most sordid personal motives were in many cases considered as but devotion to the true interests of the country, and rewarded accordingly. It very shortly became a maxim *to reward partisans* by lucrative and honorable offices, and in an ill-omened hour it was declared that ‘to the victors belong the spoils’—*an adage fraught with corruption and abuse to an extent that defies calculation*. This is strong language; but it is the language of plain, unvarnished, *honest truth*.”

Foremost among the recipients of Executive bounty were a large number of members of Congress, whose appointments to office by the President, General Jackson had declared, while a candidate, to be fraught with danger to the country, and if persisted in, “corruption would become the order of the day.” As if determined to fulfil his own prophecy, he now carried the “practice” which he had so severely condemned, to a much greater extent than had ever before been done.\* The effect was soon manifested in the compliant disposition of a very large portion of his partisans in that body, and the slavish subserviency which they exhibited. It gives us pain to be compelled to speak thus of any portion of the representatives of the people, for we feel, deeply, the stain which their degradation inflicted upon the nation’s character; and we therefore turn from them with sincere pleasure to bear testimony to the manly and determined resistance which another portion of Congress maintained against the encroachments of the President.

It was early announced by the President, that his administration must be a *unit*: which implied that there must be but *one* mind and *one* voice in his cabinet; and it was intimated too clearly to be misunderstood, whose mind and whose voice that must be. The principle thus

\* See Appendix D.

proclaimed was exemplified in the declaration, made on an occasion long to be remembered, “*I take the responsibility:*”—it was the principle which has in all ages been acted on by tyrants and despots, and which was avowed by a *Frederick* of Prussia, a *Louis XIV.*, and a *Napoleon*, when in the full career of absolute authority. It is the principle which the framers of our Constitution endeavored most strenuously to exclude and guard against, as the very antagonist of liberty and the sovereignty of the people.

To the honor of many who were elected to Congress as the friends of the Administration, be it remembered, that seeing the President surrounded by a band of sycophants as avaricious and venal as they were servile and insolent,—and feeling the galling and degrading nature of that system of party discipline which sought to concentrate all power in the hands of the Executive, and to convert the representatives of the people into mere instruments to execute his arbitrary will, they had the independence to maintain the dignity of their stations, and resist every attempt to harness them to the car of a chief—to put a bridle in their mouths, or a collar upon their necks—even with the full knowledge that they would be denounced as recreant to *the party*, and call down upon their heads the vengeance of those who were restrained by no regard for truth, and never forgave one who had refused to submit to their dictation, or had exposed their base and selfish designs.

To counteract the independent action of Congress, the *veto* was resorted to; but when this extraordinary power was insufficient, bills which had passed both houses by large majorities, and which were called for by the public interests, were smothered in the pocket of the President, who did not even condescend to favor Congress with his objections, or give a reason for the unprecedented and unconstitutional act of retaining them. To sustain himself in these usurpations and acts of arbitrary power, ap-

peals were made to the people couched in terms of mingled flattery, falsehood, and sophistry ; and their aid invoked against their own representatives and honest servants. Upon such as had been found too patriotic to be tempted by promises of office, and too firm and independent to be terrified or moved by threats of Executive vengeance, torrents of the grossest calumny were poured through the columns of a paper which fattened upon the crumbs of patronage that fell in profuse abundance from the Executive table, and which disseminated its poison under the cover of official franks, through the whole extent of our wide-spread country.\*

It is to be regretted that the appeals thus made, and the falsehood and vituperation thus disseminated, were but too effectual in their operation upon the minds of the people, who, confiding in the honesty and patriotism of one who had rendered signal services to his country, and nourishing in their bosoms those grateful emotions which did honor to their generous nature, could not be persuaded that such a man—one, too, who *professed* to act for *their* good and for the sole benefit of the *country*,—could act so inconsistently with the principles he had professed, and the solemn promises he had made while a candidate, and in his inaugural address. They, therefore, not unfrequently pronounced sentence of disapprobation upon those who would gladly have sustained the President in all his measures, could they have done so without doing violence to their own conviction of right and duty to their country. Unfortunately, the people could not see the corruption and venality which the situation of their representatives brought them in contact with, nor feel the galling nature of that party discipline, which sought to convert them into subservient partisans of the chief magistrate.

But the president and his cabinet improper, did not con-

\* See Appendix E.

tent themselves with thus appealing to the people, and scattering the poison of calumny among them. More effectual means were resorted to to ensure the defeat of such as had become obnoxious by their independence, and insure the election of men more pliant and tractable. In every part of the country the officers of the federal government were required to interfere in the popular elections; and the custom houses, the land offices, the post offices, the marshal's offices, and the headquarters of government contractors, were converted into electioneering bureaus, by which means the direct influence of the government was exerted and felt in every city, town, village, and neighborhood, and even along the high-ways wherever a mail was carried for the accommodation of the public. Thus were "the abuses which had brought the patronage of the federal government in conflict with the freedom of elections" *reformed* by him who had falsely charged these abuses upon his predecessor!

If this interference of executive agents and dependants in popular elections has given just cause for serious apprehension to those who believe it to be fraught with danger to the liberties of the country, how much more reason have they for alarm when they see a committee of the senate of the United States, headed by a former governor of one of the states, not only deliberately sanctioning, in a solemn report to that body, this interference in elections, but enjoining it as a *duty*! This act brings to our recollection with painful vividness that period in the history of Rome, when the Senate, once the most august body in the world, and before which kings bowed in submission, had become the sport of military chieftains, and the submissive instrument to record her own degradation and sanction the grossest indignities upon herself and the people. And we cannot but remember that not until the senate had lost its independence and self-respect; not until the members had become the

panders of the ambitious and the apologists of usurpers, who trampled upon the rights of the people, did the ancient Republic bow her head beneath the sceptre of a tyrant, and wear the shackles of servitude.

Another striking illustration of the sincerity of those promises which the president had ostentatiously made while a candidate, of “*retrenchment*” in the expenditures of the government, is exhibited in the simple fact, that during Mr. Adams’ administration those expenditures never exceeded *thirteen millions of dollars* a year, while under his *economical* successors they have swelled up to the sum of *forty millions of dollars* per annum !

Under General Washington and his successors down to General Jackson, the instance of an individual accumulating wealth from the emoluments of office was never known ; but during the two succeeding administrations, office-holders have been more fortunate, and it is now by no means uncommon to see them not only enjoying competence, but amassing large fortunes. We pretend not to explain the reason of this, but the *fact* cannot be denied. Perhaps the developments of the numerous and extensive defalcations which have come to light from time to time, and especially within a few months past, may throw some light upon this *dark* subject, and enable us to understand how office-holders have been able to maintain a style of living, better comporting with the splendor of nobility, than with the simplicity which becomes “democrats,” by *profession*, and which is so far above the reach of the great mass of the people.\*

We will not dwell upon the enormity of these defalcations by public officers. It is enough to say that under Mr. Adams but a single one, to the amount of less than four thousand dollars, occurred ; while under his successors, they have amounted to hundreds of cases, and to *millions of dollars* ! The first called forth a burst of in-

\*See appendix F.

dignation from the people, while the latter, enormous as they are, scarcely excite a single remark, and are looked upon with apathy and unconcern.\*

The space allotted to this address will not permit us to notice in detail the various acts of the late president and of his successor, which should excite the alarm of the people. We cannot comment upon the breaking up of the first cabinet of General Jackson, nor portray the disgraceful and humiliating causes which led to the dismissal of men from his councils, in whose integrity and talents the nation reposed confidence, and the appointment of men in their places in whom the public had no confidence, and who were content to become less than cyphers that the administration might remain a **UNIT**! We must forbear to speak of the disastrous war upon the commercial and other interests of the country; of the ruinous "experiments" upon the currency; of the golden humbug, with whose dazzling rays the people were for a time completely blinded; of the solicitation of the president to be nominated for office a second time, contrary to his express declaration when a candidate, that he would hold it but for a *single* term; of his retaining men in office whose characters were infamous, and whose nomination had been rejected in the senate by the votes of his own partisans; of his dismissing a secretary of the treasury for refusing to violate his duty to the country; of his choosing his successor, and securing his nomination and election by means of the public patronage; and many other acts of a like character, all of which we doubt not are engraven on the tablet of your memories in characters deep and lasting.

We might speak of the repeated attempts of Mr. Van Buren to force upon the country, in violation of the will of the people, often and clearly expressed, the Sub-Treasury Scheme, by which the public funds would be

\*See appendix G.

distributed for safe keeping among some hundreds of avaricious office-holders, whose party zeal would thus be stimulated to the highest pitch, and whose cupidity might tempt them to appropriate a large portion of the public funds to their own use, and then "follow in the footsteps of their illustrious predecessors," who have sought security in a foreign land. But this is too fresh in your minds to need comment.

Among the schemes resorted to by the party in power to excite the prejudices of the people against their opponents, and by that means secure their support of themselves, two are most prominent and deserve remark. We allude to the attempt to excite the hostility of the poor against the rich—to create distinctions between different classes of society where no distinction exists; and the application to us of a name which designates a party no longer in existence.

The first could only have originated with men void of every honorable feeling, regardless of the welfare and the peace of the community, and bent on the accomplishment of their own base purposes, at whatever cost to society. He who can be guilty of a deliberate attempt to sow the seeds of discord, envy and hatred between countrymen, friends, and neighbors, deserves the execrations of every honest man. "The most striking and honorable distinction of this country is to be found in the intelligence, character, and condition o' the great working class ;" and if a line is to be drawn between different portions of our citizens so as to separate them into distinct classes, we know not between whom it could be drawn with more propriety than this honest and intelligent working class on the one hand, and the selfish and corrupt supporters of power on the other.

It is the latter who raise the cry of hostility between the poor and the rich ; it is they who are at war with all wealth, all honesty, all virtue, all religion, all law, and all

independence. Who are the rich ? In nine cases out of ten they are those who began the world with nothing ; who have saved the hard earnings of a laborious life, and may be poor to-morrow. Who are the poor ? Generally those who are toiling to acquire competence and wealth, and will, ere long, be ranked among the rich :—they are such, too, as prefer idleness to comfort, and are content to grovel in ignorance, choosing to squander their earnings in drunkenness rather than to improve their own condition and educate their children. The road to fortune is open to all alike ; but her favors can only be won by industry, frugality, prudence, temperance, and assiduous attention. From those who thus seek her favors she seldom withholds them.

Wealth is the daughter of industry and economy, and the prolific mother of enterprise and improvement. What is it that sets in motion the numerous manufactories of our country, and gives profitable employment to millions of industrious individuals of both sexes ? What is it which whitens every sea with our commerce, and tempts the hardy mariner to make his home upon the deep ? What is it which builds up our towns and cities, and adorns our dwellings with the beautiful works of art ? What is it which collects upon our tables the various productions of opposite portions of the globe—productions which have become necessities of life, and are enjoyed by every class of people ? What is it which levels mountains, fills up vallies, and forms an iron road over which we are now carried with the speed of the wind—bringing distant cities almost in contact with each other by the annihilation of time and space ? What is it but industry and enterprise sustained and stimulated by individual wealth ?

He who counsels hostility against wealth, is an enemy to his race—he is an enemy to every man who desires to improve his condition, and partake of the bounties of

Providence ;—he is an enemy to his own children, for in this country the poor are the fathers of the rich. The hardy sons of toil and poverty—those who earn and save—are those who accumulate and enjoy. He who would undermine the security of property and declare war against capital, would arrest the march of improvement and of mind; lay an embargo upon every ship in port; stop the busy wheels of industry; put out the fires of the forge and of the steam engine; shut up the shop of every mechanic, and, finally, transform civilized nations into hordes of savages, and countries glittering in the sunlight of improvement, into dark and dismal forests. Let no such man be trusted. Beware of him.

It is a singular fact, and worthy of remark, that the very men who excite this feeling of hostility between the rich and the poor, and who use it as a means of promoting the success of their party, are those who have risen from poverty to wealth, by industry and economy, or by adventitious circumstances, and who are enjoying all the luxuries which riches can procure. General Jackson was once a *poor* man; so was Mr. Van Buren; and so were many of those who now fill important stations and exercise an unbounded influence over the party in power, and who have acquired ample fortunes, by means of office and patronage.

The other scheme to which we alluded, is almost too pitiful to deserve remark; nevertheless, as it has undoubtedly operated strongly upon the minds of those who have not discriminating or just veiws of men and the nature and tendency of political measures, and on whose prejudices demagogues place much greater reliance than on their reason and intelligence, we cannot pass it by without notice. How inapplicable the name applied by these to the Whig party is, will appear from the well known and indisputable fact, that a very large number of those who were ultra Federalists when that party existed, are now the most prominent and ac-

the party which arrogates to itself the exclusive title of "democratic," though its principles and policy are far from being such; and it is these same individuals who now apply their former name as an epithet of reproach to the opponents of arbitrary power. Could we look into the recesses of their hearts, and lay open to the world their inmost feelings, we doubt not they would be found to be precisely what they were when some of them made it their boast that "not a drop of *democratic* blood ever ran in their veins;" and declared, that "if they could believe a single particle then flowed in them, they would let it out."

But *names*, though from the earliest ages they have been assumed to hide unhallowed purposes and to lull suspicion, are in themselves nothing—*principles* and *actions* every thing. Those who aim at the acquisition of power and dominion, assume not the bearing of one having already attained that power; but take the name, and put on the meek and lowly demeanor of *a friend of the people*. An absolute government may be disguised under the *name* and *forms* of a republic, as in the case of Rome under Augustus Cæsar, who, though he ruled with a sway as despotic as if he had worn the diadem and borne the title of Emperor, contented himself with the unassuming title of Consul, and reconciled the people to despotism by permitting them to enjoy the *semblance* of a senate and the *name* of a republic. So also in the case of France, under the *Consul* Bonaparte, who ruled her with a despotism not less absolute, as *republican France*, and *Citizen Consul*, than he did as *Imperial France*, and *Emperor Napoleon*.

It is, in most cases, from the Executive branch of the government that the people have the greatest reason to fear an encroachment upon their liberties and an abridgment of their rights. Power has in itself a tendency to steal from the many to the few, and to accumulate where it is already possessed. In the hands of a single indi-

vidual, it can rapidly increase itself; for it can act unperceived and upon false pretences. To the avaricious it can promise wealth; to the ambitious, distinction; to the soldier, glory; to the statesman, an opportunity to serve his country; to the people, peace and prosperity. But let the patriot and lover of liberty beware, lest while all these promises are made, and perhaps faithfully fulfilled, this same power, which has *appeared* to be only busy in promoting the public good, is not at work elsewhere, undermining the liberties of the people, and weaving around them the shackles of despotism.

In reviewing the measures and the policy of the late and present administrations, the conviction is forced upon us, that their tendency has been to accumulate power in the hands of the Executive, to foster a sordid and slavish feeling among that class known under the general appellation of politicians; to disseminate a universal love of office; to lull the watchful jealousy of the people; to excite a spirit of animosity among different portions of the community; to cause the President rather than Congress to be looked upon as "THE GOVERNMENT;" and finally, to lower the standard of political morals in this country, and to cause the people to look upon things as justifiable or excusable, which would once have called forth an expression of astonishment, indignation, and severe reprehension.

If we admit, as we must, that virtue, public and private, intelligence, and a watchful jealousy of those [in power, are the only means by which a free government can be perpetuated, a review of the political history of our country for the last ten years, is calculated to excite the just apprehensions of every patriot, and to call forth all his exertions to check the downward tendency of her political morals. It must show that the people have in a great degree lost sight of, and almost forgotten the great *principles* upon which our government is founded, and which must be guarded and cherished, if we would pre-

serve the beautiful superstructure erected by our fathers. That they are divided rather by *names* than *principles*, and are ready to destroy each other, they know not wherefore. Devotion to *men* has superseded devotion to the public good, and victory over an opposing party has become an object of such vast importance as to be obtained by the prostration of all law and order, and even by incurring the guilt of *perjury*! Can a community long maintain even the *semblance* of liberty, in which the most sacred obligations are held as nothing, when standing in the way of political victory, and where a resort to tricks and practices the most criminal and dishonorable are looked upon by the *people*, not only as things of course, but as justifiable—nay, commendable? If so, then will this nation be an exception to all others whose liberties have been undermined by that corruption, which, when once it seizes upon the people, spreads abroad over the whole land, “like a pestilence that walketh in darkness.”

The party which has held in its hands the destinies of this country for the last ten years, is strictly a *personal* party. Its founder and chief was General Jackson, and until he left the presidential chair in which *he* placed the present incumbent, it bore his name, and no other. It was the *Jackson* party, and could lay claim to no creed of political faith other than the opinions which *he* chose to promulgate from time to time, which varied with almost every changing moon, and as frequently conflicted with, and contradicted each other. Whether a man were a federalist or a democrat, a republican or an aristocrat, a monarchist or a jacobin, it mattered not; if he were a *Jacksonman*—if he acknowledged the supremacy of this political Pontiff, he was acknowledged as one belonging to the household of faith, and received with open arms.

The same party is now the *Van Buren Party*. Like the devoted clans of the Highlands of Scotland, it takes its name from its chief, and it knows no allegiance but allegiance to him. On the accession of the present chief,

however, he deemed it politic to christen the party anew, and selected the name of "*Democratic*," as the most popular with the people, and likely to enlist their prejudices in its favor. With such as have not intelligence and discrimination enough to perceive the difference between *names* and *principles*—between *professions* and *actions*—this trick may be successful. But with those who are aware that a man who assumes the garb of sanctity may be guilty of the most heinous crimes, and one who *professes* to be a democrat may harbor designs upon the liberties of his country, no *name* will be considered as a sufficient pledge of *principles*.

Opposed to this party, is that with which it is our pride to be associated; and which had its origin in the opposition which was made to the high handed and unconstitutional measures of General Jackson. Those who saw that the inevitable tendency of those measures and of his general policy was to consolidate the Government, to trample upon the rights of the States, to destroy individual independence, to prostrate political morals, and to rally around him a party dependent solely upon himself and ready to obey his will as the supreme law,—rallied under the name of *Whigs*, a name hallowed by the recollections of our Revolutionary struggle, and indicating the opponents of arbitrary power and the advocates of popular rights. The principles which form the basis of this party, and the bond of its union, are as broad and expanded as the great interests of the country and the Constitution itself. The first and chief is, the preservation of those inestimable rights of self-government and of civil liberty, which were secured and handed down to us by our fathers, and which we are bound to transmit unimpaired to our posterity. As the means of doing this, we must preserve the integrity of the Constitution and of the Union, and restrain each department of the government, Executive, Legislative and Judicial, within the sphere of its own legitimate and unquestioned powers.

We hold that the will of the people is the source, and their welfare the object of all legitimate authority. We desire to elevate the people by means of education and by elevating the standard of morals: And we are opposed to all inference of Federal officers in popular elections, and in favor of placing the funds of the government under the exclusive control of Congress, or of an officer to be elected by, and accountable to, that body for the faithful discharge of his trust.

To reform the various abuses which we have enumerated; to restore the country to its former sound and healthful moral condition; to destroy "the monster party," or at least to mitigate the violence of party spirit; to restore mutual confidence and good feeling among our citizens; to arrest the frauds and peculations of public officers; to establish an administration that shall devote its energies honestly and heartily to the work of reform;—these are the great objects the Whig party has in view and proposes to accomplish, and in which we invite the co-operation of every friend of his country.

But we shall hope in vain to accomplish these objects unless the *people* will *think* and *act* for themselves. If they will listen to the flatteries, the calumnies, and the falsehoods of demagogues, and turn a deaf ear to those who would give them good and wholesome counsel; if they will yield themselves up willing tools to men whose only object is to use them either to get possession of or retain "the spoils of office;" if they will suffer themselves to be led about, this way or that way, by any one who chooses to beat the drum of *democracy*, and follow after an empty *sound*, instead of acting independently as becomes men and *freemen*,—all expectation of reforming the gross abuses which prevail in every part of the country, and of purging the government of the corruption with which it has become polluted, will be illusory and deceptive. Until *the people* can be made to see the fatal consequences of permitting this political cancer,

which has already made its appearance, to take deeper and deeper root, and spread more and more over the body politic, it is in vain to expect their aid in eradicating the fatal disease, and restoring the healthful condition of the country. Every thing rests with them, though no exertions, arguments, or persuasions should be omitted, to induce them to unite heart and hand in the great work.

To the American people we would say, in the strong and energetic language of an apostle of liberty—"If, after achievements so magnanimous, ye basely fall off from your duty, if ye are guilty of any thing unworthy of you, be assured posterity will speak, and thus pronounce its judgment: The foundation was strongly laid, the beginning, nay, more than the beginning was excellent; but it will be inquired, not without a disturbed emotion, who raised the superstructure, who completed the fabric! *To undertakings so grand, to virtues so noble, it will be a subject of grief that perseverance was wanting.*" We earnestly pray that posterity may not have occasion thus to speak of us.

Those who engage with us in this great and noble work, cannot fail to be inspired with zeal and confidence, when they look around and see in how many States our cause now triumphs, in some of which, but a short time since the advocates of power and licentiousness could count on large majorities. In Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, Vermont, New York, New Jersey, Delaware, North Carolina, Georgia, Tennessee, Louisiana, Kentucky, and Indiana, we have decided majorities; and in Maryland, Virginia, Illinois, Ohio, Michigan and Mississippi, we have little doubt but "the sober second thoughts of the people," will show that they too are desirous to be ranked among the friends of reform.

We repeat, that if we would ensure the success of our cause, we must disseminate correct information among the people—we must disabuse their minds of the thousand errors and falsehoods which have been infused into

them—we must gain their confidence by convincing them that we deserve it ; we must explain to them the principles upon which we act, and impress upon them that it is a duty which they owe to themselves, to their children, and to the friends of republican institutions in every part of the world, to sustain those principles ; but above all, we must cultivate harmony and good feeling among ourselves, and sacrifice all personal interests to the advancement of the cause in which we are engaged.

In all political contests, as in the common affairs of life, united efforts are much more effectual for the accomplishment of the proposed object than individual exertions, strenuous as the latter may be. But union and concert can only be brought about by organization. We therefore recommend to our brethren in different parts of the State, to organize themselves, by forming associations similar to our own, by which means they will become better acquainted with, and understand each other. A State Convention has been recommended to be held in June next. This meets our entire approbation ; and we cannot but believe that when it shall assemble, it will be found that the Whig cause is much stronger in Pennsylvania than its opponents are willing to admit.

We have declared our preference for one of the distinguished individuals, whose names have been presented to the people as candidates for the Presidency. It is founded, not upon personal attachment, much as we esteem and admire him, but is the result of a settled conviction that he combines in himself, in a much greater degree than any other individual, those great endowments and qualities, which the station and its important duties require. It is the comprehensiveness and vigor of understanding, the loftiness of purpose, the ardor of patriotism, the erect and manly spirit, the dignified yet republican manners, the practical sagacity, and the thorough knowledge of men as well as of the people at large, which are united in HENRY CLAY, that point to him as the man

above all others, fitted to unite the American people once more in the bonds of harmony, and to elevate our country to her former pre-eminent standing in the eyes of the world.

Mr. Clay has been in the public service for nearly thirty years, and almost the whole of that time in Congress ; and having always taken a prominent part in whatever concerned the interest and honor of his country, he is identified with every important measure that has agitated the public mind during that time. His sentiments have never been disguised upon any subject, but have always been expressed with the frankness of sincerity, and that independence which is indicative of the strongest reliance on the honesty of his countrymen, as well as of his own rectitude. If he has not always convinced the people of the correctness of his views, he has at least won their admiration ; and his name has become familiar to the lips, and dear to the hearts of every American, who can appreciate the noble qualities both of the head and the heart, with which he is so eminently endowed. He came into the Senate of the United States, in 1810, during the administration of Mr. Madison ; whose principles he approved, and to whom he gave efficient support. The next year he was returned to the House of Representatives, and on the first day of the session, was elected Speaker by a large majority :—a mark of distinction unprecedented, and which can only be appreciated, when it is recollected, that there was then in the House, a Lowndes, a Randolph, a Calhoun, a Quincy, a Bibb, a Macon, a Grundy, a Poindexter, a Robt. Goodloe Harper, and others, then and since distinguished as orators and statesmen. The dignity and ability with which he presided, the strict order and decorum he preserved in the House, and the rapid and correct manner in which he despatched business, will long be remembered.

On the great and absorbing question of war with Great Britain, who was then impressing our seamen, insulting

our flag, and committing depredations on our commerce, Mr. Clay acted with the republican party, which had elected him, (and to which he has always belonged,) and his indignant denunciations were poured out against the self-styled "Lords of the Ocean," in burning eloquence.\* During the years 1812 and 13, when disaster attended our arms on the norther frontier, and when the hearts of many began to quail, Mr. Clay stood firm and undismayed, and by the power of his eloquence and the energy of his character, infused spirit and vigor into the Administration and the American people. It was then that his name was shouted with enthusiasm from the Capitol to the utmost verge of the nation—and the enemy felt the force of his eloquence in the nerved arm and aroused courage of our soldiers.

The war being closed by the Treaty of Ghent, in which Mr. Clay took a prominent part, he was, on his return home, re-elected to the House of Representatives and to the Speaker's Chair; and took the lead in all the important measures of the day, such as providing for the payment of the public debt, adjusting the Tariff, &c. His comprehensive mind even then pierced the veil of futurity, and saw the prospective greatness of his country; and he exerted every faculty to bring into action the energies and the enterprize of a bold, hardy, ingenious and industrious people.

We will not attempt to enumerate the various important measures he has originated and advocated, all exhibiting his statesman-like views, and his thorough knowledge of the resources and capabilities of our country; but we may assert, in the borrowed language of truth and eloquence, that "every page of American history, from that period to the present moment, records the brilliancy of his genius—the profound sagacity of his mature judgment—and, above all, the vestal fire of patriotism, that burns brightly upon the altar of his heart."

\* See Appendix H.

And in the same language we may ask, "Who was the first and the ablest advocate of our great and glorious system of Internal Improvements? Who advocated the interests of the American manufacturer, the American mechanic, and the American laborer, and stood by them in the darkest hour of trial? Who lent the pure devotion and gushing eloquence of a patriot's soul, and like an angel of peace saved this union at the time when the memorable Missouri question threatened the speedy dissolution of the republic? Who effected an honorable compromise in the dark and fearful controversy of the Tariff question, which drove South Carolina into open rebellion? It was *Henry Clay*. Who is in favor of preserving the priceless treasure of our national domain, which was acquired by the blood of our common forefathers, and of appropriating the same as it shall be needed, to the support of schools, and the diffusion of universal knowledge, which is confessedly the only palladium of American liberty?" Who has dared, at the hazard of forfeiting the good opinion and support of a portion of his friends, to interpose himself between the South and those who would assail her rights over the broken fragments of a prostrate constitution? It is *Henry Clay*.

Had Mr. Clay acted contrary to his nature, and proved recreant to the great principles of constitutional liberty which have ever been the pole-star of his political course, had he consented to bow to the supremacy of "a military chieftain," and deemed it "glory enough to serve him," instead of resisting his usurpations, at a time when the popular voice would have commended such a course, can any man doubt that he might now have been enjoying the highest reward in the power of the people to bestow? The answer must be no! But office and distinction, unaccompanied by self-approbation, never had charms for him. Though not indifferent to the good opi-

nion of his fellow citizens, he could never consent to purchase it with hypocritical cant, and debasing subserviency. Ambitious he is ; but his ambition is of that lofty kind which looks to the unbiased verdict of posterity, rather than to the applause of changeful partisans--which prefers to serve the country even under a load of obloquy, to serve self at the expense of self-respect; which prefers being **RIGHT** to being **PRESIDENT**.

Though misrepresented by a venal press, and misunderstood by his countrymen, who have listened to the calumnies that have been poured out upon him by the sycophants of power, Mr. Clay has never faltered or wavered in his opposition to usurpation and misrule, nor in exposing the peculations, the inconsistencies, and the fatal effects which must result from the corruptions of the times—trusting to time and the power of truth to dispel those mists of party prejudice through which many of his fellow citizens view him, and relying on their candor and generosity to do him justice, when they shall have been convinced, as they one day must be, that he has ever been faithful to the great interests of his country.

Viewing Mr. Clay as one whose splendid talents and exalted character would dignify and adorn the Executive Chair, and whose long experience in public affairs, united with a thorough knowledge of men, would enable him to assemble around him the ablest and best men in the nation, and give an impetus to the prosperity of the country, we most ardently desire, and shall use all honorable means to procure his nomination and election. We will not permit ourselves for a moment to believe that one so gifted, so able to serve his country, who has been the target at which the envenomed shafts of our opponents have been so long hurled, and whose voice has cheered us on amid the battle's storm, can now, as victory is about to perch upon our banner, be cast aside, and the laurels which should grace his bow, be placed

upon another, and the triumph he has earned be awarded to one who has taken no part in the contest. But should the National Convention deem it advisable to place some other individual in nomination, much as we admire Mr. Clay, and grateful as we feel for the eminent services he has rendered his country in the various public stations he has filled, we shall bow submissive to its judgment. The great principles we advocate, are of far deeper importance and abiding interest to us, and to the country at large, than the elevation of any individual, however eminent his talents, or strong his claim upon his country's gratitude; and if we would see these triumph, we must be prepared to sacrifice all personal feeling to the success of our cause. Whoever shall be nominated as our candidate for the Presidency, our motto must be,

### UNION AND PERSEVERANCE—OUR COUNTRY AND OUR CAUSE.

On behalf of the Association.

Josiah Randall	William S. Heaton
N. Sargent	James Harper
John M. Scott	Arundius Tiers
William Rawle	John C. Martin
John G. Watmough	William P. Hacker
John Price Wetherill	Marshall Sprogle
John Struthers	J. G. Clarkson
Bela Badger	Benjamin Duncan
John Swift	John S. Riddle
George Jeffries	Daniel Groves
Lawrence Lewis	Daniel Winebrenner
Joseph R. Chandler	Peter Beideman
Matthew Carey	John Lentz
Thomas S. Smith	Nathaniel Gates
J. Coleman Fisher	George Riston
Henry S. Spackman	William D. Conrade
William A. Crabbe	Michael Andress
William P. Blight	John D. Ninesteel
John S. Warner	John B. Kenny
William Norris	William B. Whitecar
Jacob Stout	Alexander Quinton

Levi Hollingsworth  
 George Haas  
 Thomas Moore  
 John Waters  
 Jonathan Johnson  
 James Keen  
 George P. Little  
 William Almond  
 Peter Parker  
 Truman M. Hubbell  
 Henry M. Prevost  
 John Thomason  
 Joseph Roberts  
 Abr'm Kintzing  
 William W. Warner  
 William Carels  
 G. P. Glentworth  
 Wm. Pennington  
 N. Canfield  
 Wm. Bradford  
 John Scofield  
 William G. Cochran  
 John M. Williams  
 George Rockenburg  
 Robert Scott  
 John Stout  
 Job Kirkbride  
 John L. Woolf  
 Henry Stout  
 Henry H. King  
 Benj. W. Whitecar  
 William Stout  
 Henry Shuster  
 Charles Field  
 George Sterr, Jr.  
 George W. South  
 J. Simeon Cohen  
 Alfred L. Smith  
 James M. Sanderson  
 Robert Patton  
 Robert Donnell  
 Robert Phillips

J. B. Andrews  
 Thomas W. Duffield jr  
 Isaac Otis  
 Charles D. Lybrand  
 Charles M. Miller  
 Casper P. Morris  
 Sampson Tams  
 Peter Howard  
 Ed. Armstrong  
 Joseph C. Mills  
 John Meany  
 Jesse Y. Castor  
 John R. Walker  
 James M. Moore  
 John Hook  
 Peter Rovoudt  
 Wm. A. Dubusk  
 Edward Gaskill  
 George Kane  
 Joseph Akens  
 John M. Bussier  
 Peter D. Rodgers  
 George W. Ward  
 William G. Banks  
 Benjamin Franklin  
 Samuel L. Palmer  
 Robert P. Phillips  
 Alexander Robb  
 S. C. Cleveland  
 Philip S. Clawges  
 Edward Cavenaugh  
 John C. Gill  
 George Day  
 John P. Binns  
 William Supplee  
 J. E. Eldridge  
 Robert Hastings  
 Albert Stout  
 William Francis  
 F. Bradley  
 Robert Boyle  
 William Woor

Robert McClatchey

## “FACTS FOR THE PEOPLE.”

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## APPENDIX.

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[A.]

### GENERAL JACKSON'S SENTIMENTS, AS AVOWED WHILE A CANDIDATE FOR THE PRESIDENCY.

*Extracts from a letter from Gen. Jackson, to Mr. Monroe,  
dated Nashville, Nov. 12, 1816.*

“Your happiness, and the nation’s welfare, materially depend upon the selections which are to be made to fill the heads of departments.

\* \* \* \* \*

“Every thing depends on the selection of your ministry. *In every selection, party and party feelings should be avoided.* Now is the time to exterminate that *Monster* called party spirit. By selecting characters most conspicuous for their probity, virtue, capacity, and firmness, without any regard to *party*, you will go far to, if not entirely, eradicate those feelings which, on former occasions, threw so many obstacles in the way of government; and perhaps have the pleasure and honor of uniting a people heretofore politically divided. *The Chief Magistrate of a great and powerful nation should never indulge in party feelings.* His conduct should be liberal and disinterested, always bearing in mind that he acts for the *whole*, and not a *part* of the community. Consult *no party* in your choice.”

This letter, though written in 1816, was first published in May, 1824, while General Jackson was a candidate for the Chief Magistracy.

In a letter to George Kremer, dated Washington, May 4th, 1824, Gen. Jackson says: “The voice of Washington, in his Farewell Address to the nation, was, that party animosity was not to be encouraged, because ‘it was calculated to distract the public councils and enfeeble the public administration;’ and, with his, the voice of every patriot will accord.”

The letters, of which the above are extracts, were published

in the National Intelligencer, in May, 1824, by General Jackson's consent. Of course he intended to put forth the sentiments therein expressed, as those which he wished the people to believe he would act upon in case he were elected.

The following are extracts of a letter from General Jackson to the Legislature of Tennessee, resigning his seat in the United States Senate, Oct. 14, 1825, after he had been defeated in his first contest for the Presidency, and had been re-nominated as a candidate.

The legislature had proposed, or had under consideration, an amendment to the Constitution of the United States, declaring any individual elected to the Presidency ineligible to a re-election; or, in other words, limiting the services of any one man as President, to a single term. In allusion to this proposition, Gen. Jackson, said:

“I venture fully to accord with you in the contemplated change proposed to the Constitution. I would go further.” \* \*

He then adds these memorable words: “I would impose a provision rendering any member of Congress ineligible to office under the General Government, during the term for which he was elected, and for two years thereafter.” \* \* \* \* \*

“Members, instead of being liable to be withdrawn from legislating on the great interests of the nation, through the prospect of *Executive patronage*, would be more liberally confided in by their constituents, while their vigilance would be less interrupted by *party* feelings and *party* excitements.” \* \* \*

“But if this change in the Constitution should not be obtained, and important appointments continue to devolve on the representatives in Congress, it requires no depth of thought to be convinced that CORRUPTION WILL BECOME THE ORDER OF THE DAY.” General Jackson adds, in conclusion, “it is due to myself to practise upon the maxims recommended to others.”

How he “practised upon the maxims recommended to others,” in the above letter, and in that to Mr. Monroe, may be seen by reference to the statements we have given in this appendix and to which we beg leave to call the attention of the people. No chief magistrate ever indulged in “*party feelings*” to the same extent that he did; no one ever did more to foster into life that “*monster, called party spirit*;” no one ever acted less “*for the whole*,” and more for “*a part*;” no one ever acted more exclusively upon “*party and party feelings*” in his selections of officers; and no one ever appointed *one-fifth* of the number of members of Congress to office that he did.

We believe that facts will bear us out in the assertion that Gen. Jackson never published a political sentiment in his life that

*he did not falsify in practice.* Certainly, he never practised upon a single one of "the maxims recommended to others" in the above letters; but has done more to cause "corruption" to become "the order of the day" than any other individual living, or who has ever lived, in this country.

[B.]

### AN EXEMPLIFICATION OF THE MANNER IN WHICH THE PROMISED "RETRENCHMENT AND RE- FORM" WERE CARRIED OUT IN PRACTICE.

In 1827, while Mr. Adams occupied the Presidential Chair, committees were appointed both by the Senate and by the House of Representatives, to take into consideration the subject of reducing the expenses of the government. Mr. Benton and Mr. Van Buren were members of the Senate committee, and in their report speak of the *immense* and *dangerous* patronage of the President. They say, "the President has power over the support of the Federal officers; and power over a man's support has always been held and admitted to be power over his will." They also say that "the power of patronage, unless checked by the vigorous interposition of Congress, must go on increasing;" and add, with prophetic truth, "the President of the United States is the source of patronage. He presides over the entire system of federal appointments, jobs, and contracts; he has 'power' over the 'support' of the individuals who administer the system. He makes and unmakes them. He chooses from the circle of his friends and supporters, and *may* dismiss them, and upon all the principles of human action, *will* dismiss them as often as they disappoint his expectations." \* \* \* \* \* "We must look forward to the time when the nomination of the President can carry any man through the Senate, and his recommendation can carry any measure through the two Houses of Congress;—when the principle of public action will be open and avowed—the president wants *my* vote, and I want *his* patronage: *I* will vote as *he* wishes, and *he* will give *me* the office I wish for. What will this be but the government of *one man*? and what is the government of *one man* but a MONARCHY?"

This was the language of *Benton and Van Buren* in 1828. Has not the time to which they looked forward arrived? Do not the leaders of the party, of which Mr. Van Buren is now the chief, and Mr. Benton ambitious to become so, act upon the principle that the President wants their *votes* and they want his *patronage*; and do they not mutually gratify each others wants? already has this principle become, as they predicted it would, "open and avowed;" and we may ask, in their own language,

“what is this but the government of *one man*? and what government of *one man* but a *monarchy*? ”

The “Retrenchment and Reform” committee of the House of Representatives, in May 1828, said, in their report, that “by a judicious system of ‘reform’ at least *one third* of the clerks in the departments might be reduced with safety to the public interest.” And on the 27th day of February, 1829, only *four* days before Gen. Jackson’s inauguration, when he declared that “the recent demonstration of public sentiment had inscribed on the list of Executive duties, in characters too legible to be overlooked, the task of “REFORM,”” the same committee, by their chairman, Mr. Hamilton, reported to the House the following resolution :

“*Resolved*, That this House has a right to expect that the Executive will submit to Congress, at its next session, a *comprehensive scheme of retrenchment*, which shall extend to the lopping off of all *useless offices*, and of securing a more effective accountability in those which are retained.”

Did the Executive “submit a *comprehensive scheme of retrenchment*,” “to Congress, at its next session,” or at any subsequent session? NO. The people had been gulled by these loud *professions* ;—the humbug had answered its intended purpose, and was therefore dropped.\*

But this was not all. Instead of *reducing* the number of Clerks etc., in the Departments, and Custom Houses “*one third*,” as the committee had declared might be done “with safety to the public interests,” they were now *increased* beyond all former precedent, as the following Statement, made out from official sources of information, will show.

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\* The following anecdote was current at Washington in 1830. Mr. Wickliffe, of Kentucky, being appointed chairman of “the retrenchment committee,” set himself *honestly* and zealously to work to carry out the objects which *the party* had *professed* to desire; but was told by Mr. Van Buren that “*retrenchment*” was a very good hobby to ride *into* power upon, but was a poor one to ride *after* they had got in; “and therefore,” said he, “as we have got into power, we had better say no more about it.”

## STATEMENT,

*Showing the number and compensation of Clerks, etc., in the Custom Houses at New York and Philadelphia, and in the various Departments at Washington, in 1828, and 1837.*

No. and compensation in 1828.		No. and compensation in 1837.
174	\$119,062	Custom House, N. Y.
68	81,265	Custom House, Phila.
16	27,750	State Department.
10	18,600	Treasury Department.
none	—	Solicitor of the Treas'y. office.
20	28,650	War Department.
none	—	Commanding General's office.
3	2,950	Adjutant General's office.
5	3,900	Paymaster General's office.
none	—	Quarter Master General's office
3	2,950	Ordnance Department.
4	2,950	Subsistence Department.
1	1,500	Surgeon General's office.
none	—	Indian Department.
1	1,500	Superintendent of Indian Affairs.
16	24,000	Indian Agents.
64	31,240	Sub Agents and Interpreters.
		Sub Agents.
		14      10,50

	Commissioners.		
		3	9,000
	Assistant Agent.		
		1	1,200
\$83	346,317		
16 commissioners at \$8 per day; 11 do. at \$5 per day. 98 interpreters and others at salaries of from \$250 to \$800 per annum; and 82 persons employed at from \$2 50 to \$8 per day.			
The whole estimated at	- - - - -	160,000	
		895	780,794
		385	346,317
INCREASE in eight years		512	\$434,477

[C.]

General Jackson, on being inaugurated, called the Senate of the United States together, as is customary, for the purpose of confirming such nominations of public officers as he might deem it his duty to make to them. Having nominated the members of his cabinet and one or two other officers, he informed the Senate he had no further business to lay before them, and they adjourned on the 17th March, 1829. On the 20th of the same month, however, he commenced a general removal of the officers of the government, and filling their places with his own devoted partisans. Amos Kendall and Isaac Hill were among the first to be rewarded with responsible offices. Of those removed, before the next session of Congress, there were

Foreign Ministers,	4	Receivers and Registers,	26
Charge de Affaires,	2	Consuls,	21
Secretaries of Legation,	4	In the Executive departments,	46
Marshalls,	9	Post Masters,	491
District Attornies,	16		
Collectors of Customs etc.	48	Total,	667!

Besides at least an equal number of subordinates in Custom Houses, Land offices, Post offices, etc !!

It has been stated, and we believe with truth, that during the first four years of General Jackson's administration, there were at least Two THOUSAND removals of persons from office for opinion's sake, whose places were supplied by the appointment of devoted and brawling partisans of the President, many of whom were alike destitute of intelligence, moral honesty, and character !

Such a universal proscription had never before been witnessed or attempted in this country, and it is doubtful whether the people would have borne it in any other President. Under General Jackson's predecessors, from the commencement of the government down to the period when he commenced his corrupt system of political rewards and punishments, a period of forty years, the whole number of removals from office had been but *seventy-four*; namely, by Washington, 9; John Adams 10; Jefferson 39; Madison 5; Monroe 9; J. Q. Adams 2. And these were for other causes than political opinions.

Can it excite surprise that, under an administration which openly avowed the doctrine that "to the victors belong the spoils of office," and which thus profusely rewarded its partisans with posts of honor and profit, without reference to any merit but that of devotedness to the interests of the *President*, a universal love of office should be engendered, among the profligate, and their zeal excited to the highest pitch of recklessness! The effects produced by this debasing policy, are seen and lamented by all lovers of their country; but they are just such as were to have been expected. The political morals of the country have become corrupted and debased, if indeed, it can any longer be said she has any. And this is the "REFORM" for which the country is indebted to General Jackson and Mr. VAN BUREN!\*

Among the individuals who were *rewarded* with office, by Gen. Jackson, were **FIFTY SEVEN Editors**, and others connected with the press!† A few of these were men respected in the community; but a very large portion of them could present no other claims to office than the violent manner in which they had opposed Mr. Adams and advocated the election of Gen. Jackson, and the entire disregard they had shown for *truth and candor*.

\* Since Mr. Van Buren came into power, there have been **340** removals of postmasters,—98 of them since the 1st of January last! The individuals removed are chiefly *conservatives*. A week or two ago, Mr. Van Buren commenced removing subordinate officers in the Departments at Washington:—where and when proscription is to end, we cannot tell.

† The amount of money paid by Government to *Editors* and others connected with the press, has averaged, for the last ten years, about *one hundred and fifty thousand dollars a year!* This has, of course, been chiefly paid to those who support the party, right or wrong, according to Mr. VAN BUREN'S dictation.

## [D.]

MEMBERS OF CONGRESS APPOINTED TO OFFICE  
 "UNDER THE GENERAL GOVERNMENT" BY GEN.  
 JACKSON.

MARTIN VAN BUREN,*	The first, or unit cabinet.	ALBION K. PARIS,
SAMUEL D. INGHAM,		SELAH R. HOBBIE,
JOHN H. EATON,		JOHN G. STOWER,
JOHN BRANCH,		P. P. BARBOUR,
JOHN Mc P. BERRIEN,		JAMES M. WAYNE,
LEWIS McLANE,		ROBERT T. LYTHE,
T. P. MOORE,		JOHN RANDOLPH.
EDW. LIVINGSTON,†		WILLIAM WILKINS,
Wm. C. RIVES,		JAMES BUCHANAN,
JAS. W. RIPLEY,		LEVI WOODBURY,
POWHATTAN ELLIS,‡		EDWARD KAVENAUGH,
JEROMUS JOHNSON		ANDREW STEVENSON,
GEORGE W. OWEN,		ROMULUS M. SAUNDERS,
JOHN CHANDLER,		JESSE MILLER.
FRANCIS BAYLIES,		

## [E.]

The President forwarded prospectuses of the *Globe*, and hundreds of Extra *Globes* to individuals in Tennessee, which contained articles abusive of his old friends, Judge White and Mr. Bell; and the following letters will show that the Commissioner of the General Land Office and the Fourth Auditor "followed in the footsteps" of their Chief. Other officers, we doubt not, were also engaged in this electioneering business, and in abusing their franking privileges.

\* First appointed Secretary of State, and then Minister to England.

† Secretary of State, and Minister to France.

‡ Appointed Judge of the District Court of Mississippi, and afterwards Minister to Mexico.

|| Mr. Stevenson was elected Speaker of the House of Representatives, and filled the executive chair of that body one session, with the written promise of the President in his pocket, that he should have the appointment of Minister to England! Well might Gen. Jackson speak of Members of Congress being "liable to be withdrawn from legislating *on the great interests of the nation*, through the *prospect of EXECUTIVE PATRONAGE*," and that "*corruption would become the order of the day*," &c. He, at least, showed himself well versed in the art of corruption, and knew well the great power of that *patronage* which he, as Chief Magistrate, could exert upon individuals. Mr. VAN BUREN also understands this power, and exerts it to the utmost extent.

*Letter from the Commissioner of the General Land Office, to a friend in Ohio.*

“April, 1832.

“Sir: I send you the second number of the Extra Globe. It is one dollar for thirty numbers. As it is of the greatest importance in the approaching contest for the Presidency, that this paper should be circulated and read in every neighborhood in Ohio, can you procure five or ten subscribers for it in your vicinity? If you can, and do, you may transmit the money to me, and I will see the papers forwarded to such persons and post offices as you shall direct. The back numbers will be sent.

ELIJAH HAYWOOD.”

*Letter from Amos Kendall, Fourth Auditor, to a friend in Kentucky.*

“Washington, April 28, 1832.

“Dear Sir—I take the liberty to enclose you certain proposals which speak for themselves. The people need only correct information, and the proposed paper will give it on the cheapest terms. It is intended to reach *every neighborhood in the Union*, and it is particularly desirable that it should be circulated through *Kentucky*. It will render *essential service in all your elections*. Will you take the trouble, for the sake of our good cause, to raise a subscription in your quarter, and make a speedy return of names and money. The time for action is at hand.

With respect, yours truly,

AMOS KENDALL.”

We beg the reader, after giving the above letter an attentive perusal, to do the same with the following, from the same individual, dated

“Fourth Auditor’s Office, }  
March 24, 1829. }

“The interests of the country demands that the Auditor’s office should be filled with men of business, and not with babbling politicians. Partizan feelings shall not enter here, if I can keep them out. To *me* and *my clerks* other duties are assigned. Them I shall endeavor to discharge in the spirit of *reform*, which has made General Jackson President. Vain I may be, proud I am, that the President has given me an opportunity to aid him in proving that reform is *not an empty sound*, and is not to apply merely to a change of men.

Very respectfully, &c.

“To. J. Monroe.”

“AMOS KENDALL.”

Was ever *hypocrisy* and *cant* more disgustingly portrayed than in these two letters! And yet, these are the means by which the Jackson-Van Buren party acquired and retain their power.

## [ F ]

The public lately had an opportunity of seeing how a democrat by *profession*, an office holder, and haranguer of Locofoco meetings, lived at home. The defalcation and absconding of Wm. M. Price, late United States District Attorney of New York, rendered a sale of his furniture necessary; and such was the magnificent and splendid style in which his house was furnished that people rushed in crowds to behold it. The cost of his furniture could not have been less, from all accounts, than *fifteen or twenty thousand dollars!*

This affords a striking illustration of the *hypocrisy and insincerity* of those who are always *professing* to be *the friends of the people*; who excite the hostility of the poor against the rich, and who are ever applying the epithet of "*aristocrats*" to the latter.

## [ G ]

## DEFALCATIONS OF PUBLIC OFFICERS.

It would have been supposed that an administration coming into power with high professions of purity upon their lips—proclaiming their purpose to be "**RETRENCHMEMT AND REFORM**," and denouncing their predecessors as guilty of all manner of corruption and extravagance, would, for the sake of *appearances*, if from no other motive, have been especially careful to enforce upon their subordinate agents strict accountability and rigid punctuality in paying over the public funds which from time to time accumulated in their hands. When General Jackson came into office, Amos Kendall and others, were set to work to endeavor to find out something by which to sustain and justify the charge of *corruption* that had been so loudly made. At length, a *solitary* case, that of poor Tobias Watkins, was found, wherein an office holder under the then late administration, had appropriated a portion of funds in his hands, to his own private use. Immediately, on this discovery, the cry was set up of "*dreadful corruption! our charges proved!*"—and the culprit was seized, indicted, found guilty, and imprisoned in a cell, over which was written in large characters, by order of the President, "**CRIMINAL APARTMENT.**" The amount of Dr. Watkins' defalcation was \$3,050; and he was kept in jail by the President for this, three years and six months. The people of the United States were dreadfully scandalized by this case of corruption, and were more than ever disposed to believe that *all* that had been charged was true.

But if they were thus shocked at the *single* case of Watkins, what must they think when they read the following:

*List of some of the Defaulters to the Government, whose defalcations have occurred since 1829, when General Jackson came into power—from official documents.*

NAMES.	PLACE OF RESIDENCE.	Amount of DEFALCATION.	WHEN DUE.
Samuel Swartwout	New York.	\$1,225,705 69	Defalcations commenced 1830, and continued to increase till 1838.
William M. Price	"	75,000	
A. S. Thurston	Key West, Florida.	2,822 14	Jan. 22, 1831
George W. Owen	Mobile, Ala.	11,173 48	July 25, 1836
Israel T. Canby	Crawfordville, Ind.	39,013 31	
Abner Mc Carty	Indianapolis, Ind.	1,338 92	July 18, 1836
B. F. Edwards	Edwardsville, Ill.	3,315 76	May 20, 1837
Wm. Lee D. Ewing	Vandalia, Ill.	16,754 29	April 9, 1830
John Hays	Jackson, Miss.	1,386 16	Dec. 31, 1834
Willis M. Green	Palmyra, Miso.	2,312 12	Dec. 31, 1835
B. S. Chambers	Little Rock, Ark	2,146 27	Aug. 4, 1836
David L. Tod	Opelousas, La.	27,230 57	April 11, 1832
B. R. Rodgers	"	6,624 83	May 25, 1837
Maurice Cannon	New Orleans.	1,259 28	June 30, 1836
A. W. Mc Daniel	Washington, Miss.	6,000	Oct. 6, 1830
John H. Owen	St. Stephens, Ala.	30,611 97	Nov. 1, 1836
George B. Crutcher	Choctaw, Miss.	6,061 40	March 31, 1832
George B. Dameron	"	39,059 64	April 1, 1834
Samuel W. Dickson	"	11,231 90	Sept. 16, 1837
"	"	898 53	" "
Wiley P. Harris	Columbus Miss.	109,178 08	Nov. 16, 1836
William Taylor	Cahawba, Ala.	23,116 18	June 30, 1836
Uriah G. Mitchell	"	54,626 55	Feb. 28, 1837
James W. Stephenson	Galena, Ill.	43,294 04	May 5, 1837
Littlebury Hawkins	Helena, Ark.	100,000 00	Nov. 9, 1835
S. W. Beall	Green Bay.	10,620 19	June 30, 1837
Joseph Friend	Washita, La.	2,551 91	May 15, 1835
William H. Allen	St. Augustine.	1,997 50	Oct. 57, 1836
Gordon D. Boyd	Columbus, Miss.	50,937 29	Aug. 31, 1837
R. H. Sterling	Chochuma, Miss.	10,733 70	Feb. 28, 1837
Paris Childers	Greensburg, La.	12,449 76	" 1838
William Linn	Vandalia, Ill.	55,962 06	" 1828
Samuel T. Scott	Jackson, Miss.	12,550 47	" 1838
James T. Pollock	Crawfordville, Ind.	14,891 98	" "
John L. Daniel	Opelousas, Ill.	7,280 63	" "
Morgan Neville	Cincinnati.	13,781 19	" "
M. J. Allen	Tallahasse, Florida.	26,691 57	" 1839
Robert T. Brown	Springfield, Miso.	3,600 50	" "

Total,

\$2,064,209 86

TWO MILLIONS, SIXTY-FOUR THOUSAND, TWO HUNDRED AND NINE DOLLARS, AND EIGHTY-SIX CENTS !

This might be enlarged by giving a list of *all* the defaulters since 1829, and the amounts due by them ; the *principal* ones, only, are given above. And yet Mr. VAN BUBEN is opposed to an investigation !

In the case of Swartwout, his defalcation commenced as early as 1830, and continued to increase till 1838. In the cases of Sterling, Pollock, Linn, Harris, Hawkins, and some others, the defalcations seem to have commenced, in some instances in 1833, and in others in 1834, and to have continued for several years, without the defaulters being removed or any steps having been taken to compel payment of the amounts due, though they were coaxed and remonstrated with, and threatened to be reported to the President, from time to time, and from year to year, by the Secretary of the Treasury. Nay, not only were they not *removed* from office, but Harris was *re-appointed*, while yet a defaulter, and after having been repeatedly called upon, by the Secretary, in vain, to make the proper returns of his amounts and pay over the large balance in his hands!

The following extract of a letter from JOHN F. H. CLAIBORNE, a representative in Congress from Mississippi, to the *President*, will explain *why* a notorious and contumacious defaulter was re-appointed to office, after having been repeatedly threatened with *removal*.

“COLUMBUS, Sept. 15, 1835.

“ Poindexter employed a vile, unprincipled agent, (Gibson Woodbridge) to take testimony at this office, under a resolution of the Senate; and he endeavored to implicate General Harris and George W. Martin in some transaction of very *minor* importance. \* \* \* \* \* Nothing would rejoice him [Poindexter] more than the expulsion of General Harris, whom he knows to be *one of the main pillars of the democratic cause, and one of the earliest and most distinguished friends of the administration in Mississippi*. His *family and connexions* are extremely *influential*, and *all of them are co-operating with us* in the arduous struggle which we are now making. *They are true democrats*; and the bank, nullifying, and White parties would shout ‘victory’ at any blow aimed at them.”

And therefore because Harris and his family were “*democrats*” and “*extremely influential*,” he must be re-appointed, though a defaulter to the amount of over *a hundred thousand dollars*! This would prevent the opposition from crying “*victory*”!! Mr. Claiborne goes on to say to the President, “We are in the midst of an electioneering campaign: Governor Runnels, R. Walker, Major B. W. Edwards, and myself, constitute the *democratic Van Buren* ticket. It will be a close contest.”

We now see what the *Van Buren* democratic doctrine is:—namely, to re-appoint public *defaulters* who happen to have “*extremely influential family connexions*,” without regarding the safety of the people’s money. What a pity Tobias Watkins did not happen to be “*a distinguished friend of the administra-*

tion" and "a democrat," with "extremely influential family connexions!" Poor fellow, instead of being removed from office and incarcerated in a prison for three years and six months, for making use of \$8,050—he might in that case have pocketed *one hundred and nine thousand dollars*, and then have been *re-appointed!*

This is a single exemplification of "the spoils" principle, upon which MARTIN VAN BUREN acts; we could give hundreds of cases quite as strong.

Is this carrying out the principles of *democracy*? Such acts could never have been sanctioned by the pure, the noble-minded, the patriotic WASHINGTON. And will the American *people* sanction them? if they do, they are not worthy to call him their countryman.

[ H ]

EXTRACTS FROM MR. CLAY'S SPEECHES,  
*Delivered in Congress, in support of the last War.*

"What are we to gain by the war, has been emphatically asked. In reply, he would ask, what are we not to lose by peace? Commerce, character, a nation's best treasure, honor! If pecuniary considerations alone are to govern, there is sufficient motive for the war. Our revenue is reduced by the operation of the belligerent edicts to about six millions of dollars, according to the secretary of the treasury's report. The year preceding the embargo it was sixteen. Take away the orders in council, it will again mount up to sixteen millions. By continuing therefore in peace, (if the mongrel state in which we are deserve that denomination,) we lose annually in revenue alone, ten millions of dollars.

He had no disposition to magnify, or dwell upon the catalogue of injuries we had received from England. He could not, however, overlook the impressment of our seamen; an aggression upon which he never reflected without feelings of indignation, which would not allow him appropriate language to describe its enormity. Not content with seizing upon all our property which falls within her rapacious grasp, the personal rights of our countrymen—rights which forever ought to be sacred, are trampled upon and violated."

\* \* \* \* \*

"What are we required to do by those who would engage our feelings and wishes in her (England's) behalf? To bear the actual cuffs of her arrogance, that we may escape a chimerical French subjugation! We are invited—conjured to drink the portion of British poison actually presented to our lips, that we

may avoid the imperial dose prepared by perturbed imaginations. We are called upon to submit to debasement, dishonor and disgrace—to bow the neck to royal insolence, as a course of preparation for manly resistance to gallic invasion ! What nation, what individual was ever taught, in the schools of ~~in~~ious submission, these patriotic lessons of freedom and independence? Let those who contend for this humiliating doctrine read its refutation in the history of the very man against whose insatiable thirst of dominion we are warned. The experience of desolated Spain, for the last fifteen years, is worth volumes. Did she find her repose and safety in subserviency to the will of that man? Had she boldly stood forth and repelled the first attempt to dictate to her councils, her monarch would not be now a miserable captive in Marseilles."

\* \* \* \* \*

"It is said that the effect of the war at home, will be a change of those who administer the government, who will be replaced by others that will make a disgraceful peace. He did not believe it. Not a man in the nation could really doubt the sincerity with which those in power have sought, by all honorable and pacific means, to protect the interests of the country. When the people saw exercised towards both belligerents the utmost impartiality, witnessed the same equal terms tendered to both ; and beheld the government successively embracing an accommodation with each in exactly the same spirit of amity, he was fully persuaded, now that war was the only alternative left to us by the injustice of one of the powers, that the support and confidence of the people would remain undiminished. He was one, however, who was prepared to march on in the road of his duty at all hazards. What ! shall it be said that our *amor patriæ* is located at these desks--that we pusillanimously cling to our seats here, rather than boldly vindicate the most inestimable rights of the country ?"

\* \* \* \* \*

"The war was declared because Great Britain arrogated to herself the pretension of regulating our foreign trade, under the delusive name of retaliatory orders in council,—a pretension by which she undertook to proclaim to American enterprize:—“Thus far shalt thou go, and no farther,”—orders which she refused to revoke after the alleged cause of their enactment had ceased; because she persisted in the practice of impressing American seamen; because she had instigated the Indians to commit hostilities against us; and because she refused indemnity for her past injuries upon our commerce. I throw out of the question other wrongs. The war in fact was announced, on our part, to meet the war which she was waging on her part.”

"And who is prepared to say, that American seamen shall be surrendered, as victims to the British principle of impressment? And, sir, what is this principle? She contends that she has a right to the services of her own subjects; and that, in the exercise of this right, she may lawfully impress them, even although she finds them in American vessels, upon the high seas, out of her jurisdiction. Now, I deny that she has any right, beyond her jurisdiction, to come on board our vessels, upon the high seas, for any other purpose than in the pursuit of enemies, or their goods, or goods contraband of war.

The naked truth is, she comes, by her press gangs, on board of our vessels, seizes OUR native as well as naturalized seamen, and drags them into her service. It is the case, then, of the assertion of an erroneous principle,—and of a practice not conformable to the asserted principle,—a principle which, if it were theoretically right, must be forever practically wrong,—a practice which can obtain countenance from no principle whatever, and to submit to which, on our part, would betray the most abject degradation. We are told, by gentlemen in the opposition, that government has not done all that was incumbent on it to do, to avoid just cause of complaint on the part of Great Britain,—that, in particular, the certificates of protection, authorized by the act of 1796, are fraudulently used. Sir, government has done too much in granting these paper protections. I can never think of them without being shocked. They resemble the passes which the master grants to his negro slave, "let the bearer, Mungo, pass and repass without molestation." What do they imply? That Great Britain has a right to seize all who are not provided with them. From their very nature they must be liable to abuse on both sides. If Great Britain desires a mark by which she can know her own subjects, let her give them an ear mark. The colors that float from the mast head should be the credentials of our seamen. There is no safety to us, and the gentlemen have shown it, but in the rule that all who sail under the flag, (not being enemies,) are protected by the flag. It is impossible that this country should ever abandon the gallant tars, who have won for us such splendid trophies."

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We request the American people to read the foregoing "FACTS," and then ask themselves if they *can*, conscientiously, support the present corrupt administration? and we leave them to act upon their own honest convictions.



# EXTRACT

FROM THE SPEECH OF

## WILLIAM C. PRESTON,

OF SOUTH CAROLINA,

BEFORE THE

### DEMOCRATIC WHIG ASSOCIATION OF PHILA.,

ON THE 11TH MARCH, 1839.

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After urging the necessity of *union* among the Whigs, and that they should stand by their principles, Mr. Preston said it did not perhaps become him to speak, in this place, of *men*; but as the Whig flag could not be sustained without a hand to hold it aloft when raised, he must be indulged in a remark or two upon this subject. The flag under which we rally, he said, was a noble, a broad and expanded one, and proud we were of it; it should be placed in a hand worthy of it, and able to spread it forth upon the breeze. That hand is the hand of HENRY CLAY. To him and to no other man must our banner be entrusted, if we would see it gloriously floating aloft, in proud and triumphant victory.

Mr. Clay, he said, was a very noble man. He, himself, came into the Senate with strong prejudices against him. He had warmly opposed him long before he knew him. In the Senate he found himself by his side—he watched him with a jealous eye—but his prejudices had gradually given way before the power of truth, and from being a suspicious opponent, he would frankly confess he had become an admirer of the man. It was not his eloquence—that was well known—it was not the great services which he had rendered his country, and which must be familiar



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to all ; but it was his noble nature—his fearless support of what his judgment told him was *right*, regardless of consequences, that won his admiration. No man ever looked danger in the eye with a more determined countenance, when in the pursuit of truth, or the sustainment of right, than Henry Clay. (Great cheering.) This he spoke of his knowledge. He had seen him standing, as it were, upon the very verge of a political gulph, down which, apparently, a single step would plunge him. I have seen him look into the gulph with a fixed yet unblenching eye, and with all its consequences before him, taken the step which he thought DUTY required. Such a man is Henry Clay. (Cheers.)

I have heard him utter, said Mr. Preston, in his closet, sentiments which, had they fallen from the lips of one of the ancients of Greece or Rome, would have been repeated with admiration to the present day. On one occasion, continued Mr. Preston, he did me the honor to consult with me. It was in reference to a step he was about to take, and which will, perhaps, occur to your minds without a more direct allusion. After stating what he proposed, it was remarked that such a course might be offensive to the ultras of both parties, in the great excitement which then existed. To this Mr. Clay replied,—“I trust the sentiments and opinions are correct ; I HAD RATHER BE RIGHT THAN BE PRESIDENT.”

Such sentiments as these, indicate the loftiness of the man, and the high purposes of his soul ; and they should call forth the admiration and confidence of the nation. They point to him as “the most worthy” to wield her destinies. I avow myself therefore, for Henry Clay. I will not say I *believe* the Whigs will be defeated unless they rally as one man, in a solid phalanx around him and their principles—I know it ; it is inevitable. But if they do thus rally, their triumph is certain. May it be my lot to congratulate you hereafter on your victory, rather than condole with you and mourn with the country on your defeat.